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example, they describe an adolescent girl as one whose breasts are beginning to grow.

The Kwoma class a person as an infant as long as he still suckles. He remains in this category from two to four years, depending upon various contingencies such as his health or the birth of a younger sibling.[9] The weaning period, the transition between infancy and childhood, lasts from one to two years. A Kwoma is usually somewhere between four and six years of age before he is established as a child. The childhood category for boys runs from the end of weaning to the first initiation into the age-grade cycle, which roughly coincides with pubescence. A girl enters adolescence with the ceremony that is held at first menstruation. The period of adolescence extends from the end of childhood to a ceremony in which the boy or the girl is cicatrized. This takes place at about sixteen or seventeen, usually just before marriage for the boy and just after marriage for the girl. All persons who have been cicatrized are classified as adults.[10]

In addition to the maturation hierarchy, there is a system of age grades. A boy is initiated into the first of the four grades at adolescence, and into each of the next higher grades at approximately five-year intervals thereafter. While he is a member of each grade, he is permitted to wear a type of hair ornament which symbolizes his position.

In addition to the categories based on kinship, locality, and age, the Kwoma divide themselves into a variety of groups for the purpose of carrying out economic activities. A brother and sister before they are married, or a husband and wife after marriage, constitute a team to extract sago flour. The households of two or more brothers, or of a father

[9] Although a mother is theoretically prohibited from indulging in sexual intercourse while she is still nursing an infant, not all mothers abide by this rule.

[10] The aged also form a group which properly belongs in the maturation hierarchy. They have been arbitrarily excluded from this study. Old age begins technically when a person has gone through the age-grade cycle first as an initiate and then as an initiator. This puts it at approximately fifty years.

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eral months, he is given some instruction in gong beating and flute playing, so that he may show his prowess at the coming initiation. Most of the time, however, he watches those who have already been initiated, but who have not yet fully mastered the techniques, practice the complicated rhythms, and then tries to copy them.

On the day of the ceremony, the beating of the house tamberan gongs begins early in the morning. Meanwhile, the boy who is to be initiated prepares himself for the event. He carefully combs his hair and paints his face in the prescribed manner. About mid-morning he is led near the house tamberan by his sponsor,[26] who warns him that when he enters the building he will see the *marsalai*, who will be on an altar in the center of the dance floor. The sponsor especially warns the initiate not to look up at the altar too quickly lest the shock kill him. The lad is then left waiting with other boys who are to be initiated while the sponsor goes to tell the men already there that the initiates are about to appear. At this, the gongs, flute playing, and singing cease abruptly, and the men prepare to produce special sound effects to impress the initiates. The sponsor returns for his initiate and leads him up to the house tamberan. A screen of sago fronds hides the inside of the building from view. Gongs and flutes burst into a deafening roar as the initiate is made to stoop and enter an opening in the screen. The sponsor holds the initiate by the arm and dances with him around the altar. The men shout and dance around with them. The gong beaters and flutists play wildly. Someone just outside the house tamberan whirls a bull-roarer, and the sponsor shouts in the boy's ear that its sound is that of the wings of a *marsalai*. For the first two rounds the boy keeps his eyes fixed on the ground; then his sponsor tells him to look up at the altar, where there is a stylized representation of a human head carved from wood and painted with designs in black and white. The boy is told that this too is a hoax, that it is made

[26] I am not sure how a boy's sponsor is determined. In any case, he is a member of the appropriate cult section and of the parental generation.

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One day Gwiyap told his *sister*, Kwiya, a girl of about his own age, to copulate with her father. She retorted in an equally bawdy fashion. When I questioned Gwiyap about this behavior, he explained to me that it was customary between *brother* and *sister*. If he had said the same thing to anyone else, however, it would have been a gross insult and would probably have provoked a fight; but, he said, it was a good joke when he talked this way to his *sister*. Kwiya was one of the girls with whom he had had sex relations.

Although a *brother-sister* joking relationship is allowed, physical aggression toward a *sister* under these circumstances is prohibited. The following case illustrates the strength of this prohibition and indicates that by the period of adolescence it has already become internalized. Mar and Awa, his adolescent *sister*, were teasing and insulting one another in accordance with the joking relationship. After the exchange had gone on for some time, Awa told Mar, who had bleached his hair in accordance with the new fashion, that his hair was white because he was an old man and no longer sexually potent. Mar lost his temper at this insult and rushed at Awa, brandishing a stick. She turned and ran. Mar followed her for a few yards and then fell down and remained inert on the ground. When he did not get up, the onlookers went over to discover the trouble. He refused to answer them. Thinking that he was pretending, they began prodding him. He still did not respond, and they finally decided that he must be possessed. Later he explained that his father's ghost had appeared before him and demanded sternly why he was chasing his *sister*.[29]

An adolescent boy is permitted to be physically aggressive toward his *sister* if he catches her philandering, though he may not seriously injure her. Usually a boy's reaction in these cases is to give his *sister* a good scolding. Sometimes he may strike her on her back with his fist, or, if her behavior has been especially flagrant and persistent, he may even beat

[29] Since Mar's behavior in other circumstances showed him to be an unusually fearful person, the above case probably does not represent a normal Kwoma reaction.

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721 not the explanation at all. The real reason why the work was
593 undone, she said, was that the woman had spent the morning
578 in the bushes with Kar. War became furious at this, knocked his wife down with his fist, and threatened to spear his brother Kar. Kar denied the accusation indignantly, saying that his wife had merely invented the story to get him in trouble, whereupon he, in turn, clouted his own wife. War was still suspicious, but did not proceed further against Kar. War's [586] wife, however, returned in a fury to the hamlet, packed her things, took her young daughter by the hand,[51] and left before War returned. Kar, who had arrived before she left, tried to dissuade her, but did not succeed. When War returned that evening and found his wife gone, he was even • [302] more angry than before. He painted his face with clay and swore that he would not take it off until he had brought her back or killed the man to whom she had fled. The next day he traced her to Yelagu, a neighboring tribe consisting of only six families. He took three spears and set out alone to bring back his runaway wife. Someone warned the Yelagu that he was coming, so that when he arrived there was only a cripple left in the village. War demanded where his wife had gone, but the cripple either could not or would not tell him and offered him a dog and some shell money if War would spare his life. War demanded more money, took it and the dog, and returned home.

721 The next evening War called his friends and relatives together. He distributed the dog meat among them, told them what had happened, and suggested that they go on a head-hunting raid against the Yelagu. He argued that it was a very small tribe and that they were all cowards. He said that it would be a good opportunity for some of the young men who had not yet taken a head to do so. He admitted that he was interested in getting his wife back and teaching her a lesson, and in punishing the man who had harbored her. [648] Most of those present thought that it was a good idea, but several objected on the grounds that Yelagu was too near

[51] Theoretically she should have left her daughter with her husband, since children belong to their father's hamlet.

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The market at which Kwoma women are trading their surplus of sago flour for fish brought by the river natives. The woman in the foreground is Marok's sister, Uka, holding a lump of sago flour in each hand. See Chapter VI, pages 119–120. The scars on her chest and around her navel are those she received as a mark of adulthood. See Chapter VI, page 106.

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Mundik just after he had fled to our house for sanctuary after having been beaten and bound for attending the cult meeting associated with the second funeral feast. This ceremony is restricted to those who have received their keloids of manhood. Mundik, being a Yelagu, had not received these. A further reason for his being beaten was that he had killed his wife in a fit of rage and fled to Kwoma, his mother's former home, to escape being killed by his wife's relatives. The Kwoma shunned him and used his breach of cult rules as an excuse for expressing their feelings toward a person they believed to be a homicidal maniac. Had he not loosened the bonds on his ankles and escaped from the house in which he was imprisoned, he may well have been killed before the ceremony ended. See Chapter VI, page 144, and Chapter VIII, page 213.

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Gwiyap, our best informant, wearing a laplap which he had earned working for us as a house boy. See Chapter V.

796 usual costume of an old bathing suit. The faces of practically all of
291 them were smeared with black paint, particularly on their eyebrows, and in
301 lines on their forehead. On some a narrow line of black was drawn along
[302] the hairline, framing the face.

796 In time to the dancing and the beating of the gongs, a chant was sung.
533 One of the dancers would start a short verse sung in a high monotone. It was spoken very rapidly and I could not take it down very well. One verse sounded like yaguuligwuligwuligo. At the end of the verse everyone shouted in chorus wewa or ewa, with a prolongation and accent on the first syllable. It was shouted on a lower note than the verse; the second syllable was even lower than the first. After two or three verses, there was a longer chorus which started with ewa sung twice, followed by a sort of chant of yahowaho, dadohoba, or hahehowa that was sung on a higher note than those with the vowel "o". After this longer chorus, they would lapse into silence for a moment, and the gongs would stop beating; but usually after only a few seconds, someone would start another song. After one person had started a verse, the others would join in. Some people were dancing almost constantly, more fervently than others; everyone, however, participated at some time.

796 There were six large gongs (logs) ranging from about eight feet long
534 and two feet in diameter, to half that size, lying around the sides of the house. The logs had been hollowed out in roughly the same manner as a canoe although the shell was much thicker, and usually only one end was pointed and carved. The slit on top was about six inches wide and about
[532] three quarters the length of the log. The carving was a rough representation of a crocodile. The beaters were round pieces of wood about a foot long

126 and the men are averse to having pictures taken of their more esoteric ceremonies. Some of the women had a "cross" on with me a while ago for taking a lot of photos of their trading with Yambon. They seem to have a sense of shame at their nakedness.

Developing our negatives is a risky business. By rising before six we can usually get our solutions to 70°F. But once we start to develop, we are at the mercy of the weather. If a mist sets in, it is likely to last all morning so that is takes an entire day for the negatives to dry as they should.

(Again Tip).

796 December 17th, 1936. The nokwi sugwi which we attended a week ago today was a banner occasion. We had heard it called, in pidgin, "singsing bilong mari", so we were ready for anything up to ceremonial rape. The morning was cold and rainy and only a few men were at the house tamberan beating the huge gong. We had arranged to go down to Abagalis with War, but we had [302] to wait about half an hour while he 'dressed'. This consisted of smearing [301] his body with a sticky oil, drawing a black band with charcoal around the hair line of his face, carefully painting his face with ochre powder, putting on broad shell-washer arm bands and a tiny rope of shells across the forehead, and finally sticking a bird of paradise 'duster' in his hair.

During this process we talked with War's brothers who are "finish-timers" of our age. These lads are still too young to go to this ceremony. What the qualifications are we do not know, but have an idea that the members [417] fulfill the homicide qualification. When we arrived at Abagalis we found that a high fence of sago fronds had been erected around the clearing at the north end of the house tamberan. Near the center was a 10' x 3' pit [534] dug in the ground and half filled with water. In the water suspended by both ends was what we will call a water gong. It is made of the good

533 February 2, 1937. Yesterday the gongs started beating at Sombundura, and they kept up all night. Flutes played intermittently. The people at Rumbima said that it wasn't much of a ceremony--there was little excitement [171] compared to the Hokwi ceremony. The beat was similar to the Hdunkwi of [301] Yambon. The gongs were still going this morning, and several people went [302] by somewhat ornamented but without paint on their faces.

578 This morning while I was still in bed, I heard a scramble and then Fit ran down the path to his house yelling. He was chased by Hey who had a smoking firebrand in his hand and was beleboring Fit with it. Later Hey came in with a cut on his forehead. He said that he had called Fit names, Fit had lost his temper, and sworn at him. He had rushed Hey while he was sitting down, and cracked him on the head with his fist. Hey had [522] scrambled up, grabbed a firebrand and threatened him. The spectators all thought it a good joke. Although Fit ran down to his house, there was no talk from the elders that I was aware of. Later Owiyap and I were talking about it, and he asked me if we fought the same way. I said no, that we more often played at fighting that way.

838 February 3, 1937. I woke up this morning and heard the voice of Hem in 522 Wisep's house. They were kidding him about sodomy. It was treated in a joking manner. He denied it and accused Marur and Wisep. He said that Marur had been having sexual intercourse with Wisep for a long time--this brought howls of laughter. The joking went on intermittently through [123] breakfast. I told Marur to bring Hem to me, that I wanted to have intercourse with him. There was laughter, and Marur chased Hem, who ran away. Later Marur caught him and asked me if he should bring him now. I said, "No, he isn't big enough", but added that he, Marur, was about right. They laughed heartily at this, and Hem danced around Marur pointing his finger at him.

356 [857] with a digging stick. Mar's oldest daughter (age 9) appeared from the back (Mar's house). She had been left to look after the house.

123 February 8, 1937. Kum came up this morning and talked until noon. Wof came up this afternoon and moaned about everyone else getting things (the diwai etc. that I have been buying) while he got nothing. I said that if he had something to sell, I would buy it. He brought up a spear. I had one just like it and so I said no. He was quite hurt, so I give him a plane iron for nothing. 578 According to May, the argument between Wof and Chimwa is finished. 754 She did not give the sungayawa (sorcery materials) to another man but kept it in her bilum (net bag).

302 This afternoon I went to Mar's and sat down. Mar's wife (Yamapa) was shaving Awambaka's (Mar's sister) hair. (Hair is shaved because it will grow in strong afterward). May was there. He did not look at Mar's 578 sisters. Kum was there but left soon after and started to carry a bit of firewood away with him. Awambaka immediately yelled at him, picked up a broom, and threatened him with it. He dropped the firewood.

123 Mar brought out the perfume that I gave him yesterday, and I told him 593 to let his sister smell it, but he wouldn't do it.

124 Then I went to Wof's house. A group had gathered there on their way to my house--three Hayamakwo men and Mes' mother who were coming back to [532] look at my house. I went home. The men came into my sleep room, looked at the [778] diwais (carved figures), and we discussed who had made them and usually one of them could tell. In the morning Kumb had said that some of the big men were cross because I had left the figures around, so we put the most sacred ones in a box. I showed them to the three men, and they shook their heads and clucked their tongues and spoke in a whisper. Others had seen the same things lying about and had not reacted half as much.

439 This morning just after dawn Sow went by in a hurry with cuscus fur
628 on his head and carrying two spears. Soon afterward, the gongs at Wenya
532 began the assembly call. This kept up for about fifteen minutes, several
534 gongs going at once and cries of Ma yano. The house boys did not know what it meant. May ran down so ask Wof who said that they were beating a "tunket" with Tangwishamp to exchange sugilewas (carved wooden figures). A few minutes later a very high-toned gong sounded, and they all jumped at this and ran out of the house saying that it was the "garamut bilong fight". Wof was coming up the hill and reassured them it was only the 'tunket' for exchange of sugilewas. Later (10:00) we heard distant gongs play the dance rhythm. Mas and Owiyap said that the meeting of Tangwishamp and Hongwan would take place at Mdowsy house tamberan at Wambanj. (This morning they had said, convincing us it was not a fight, that had it been, there would have been many more people running by with spears. Everybody would have gone).

123 Afalawanj came in this morning and sold me a clay bird.
439 February 20, 1937. Tip left three days ago. War and Kar came around in the
114 evening. War had rubbed clay on his forehead which he explained he put
• 302 there because he was sorry Tip had gone. While they were here someone
123 called out from Wenya. They listened and then went out to where they could
437 hear better. Kumb had come too. The Wenya said that the Tangwishamps were bringing a pig in the next day and wanted to know if Hongwan wanted
[435] part of it. Wof joined in the discussion from his house. They decided they didn't want it because the Tangwishamp prices were too high.

628 The next day in the afternoon the Tangwishamps began drifting in;
[411] about a dozen men and women came and stopped in to look at our house. They
[412] carried no weapons except an occasional bone dagger or adze. They slept

721 because he was afraid of sorcery. Kar came up later and asked me why I did not
726 come down. I went, and there were about 50 people there. Most of them were or-
[123] namented with black paint and mano (bird of paradise) feathers. They played ball
[302] until dark and then left. I told Kar that I would not tell the police about the
[301] raid, and he seemed upset and wanted to know who had told me about it. I
[524] answered that I had overheard War at the house tamberan, so as not to get my
[123] informers in trouble.

726 Mar and Mes told me that they were going to raid not Yelangu but Nugitama
648 (Sowal Urambanj). The former place had representatives of the Australian government, and they were afraid they would get in trouble with the police. Sowal Uramganj, however, was not yet under Australian control, and they could get away with it.

I asked them if they were going. Mar said "No, mi fraid long kiop mi no laik hang im up. Maski, mi stop alasaim mari. Mi no man. Mi mari dasol. Mi stop mari olatsim. Maski put im bilas bilong biruwa." (No, I'm afraid of the Australian patrol officer. I don't want to be hung. Never mind, I will be a woman the rest of my life. Never mind weaning the symbols of manhood.) He showed considerable affect during this speech as if he were making quite a sacrifice by deciding not to go. He and Mes both asked me to furnish alibis for them in case of trouble. Mar said that perhaps later they would go to Yelagu and clean it up, but that this was a different affair, War's idea, but that if this came to pass, he was going to tell the police because his garden would be useless.

726 They reported that now they were waiting for men from Urambanj, Tangwishamp,
[501] Koriasi, and Yambon. War had made soup at his house. They were planning to go by canoe, to leave that night and skirt the Kwoma mountains. They would approach at night, single out one house tamberan and surround a house silently. At number one fowl (dawn), the leader would approach the house and break the fence (evidently the Sowal Urambanj's have palisades).

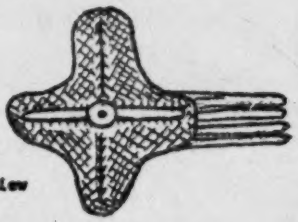
*115 household and then had a long conversation with War's son, Mes, a lad of his own age.

[302] He and Mes put a bleaching mixture on each other's hair--lime, water
*115 and foyimaka leaf. I did not see him look at Aye once nor did he speak to
584 her beyond a word of greeting. After we left and were out of sight he exclaimed excitedly, "Did you see my girl? Ai yo ha ha ha hoiyo," he shouted. Then he put his thumb in his mouth and danced on one foot and exploded in a loud voice, "I think I'll get her. Never mind about sorcery". Then contracting his brows and looking at the ground, "Yes, I think so. I don't know." Later after we had returned to my house, he spoke of his fiancee once again and said that she was good and had a good vagina (laughter). If he went away, another man might get her. If so, he would break his lime gourd and clay pot and go up to the house tamberan and beat the gong for that man to come. Then he would fight him, punch him in the nose and then in the ear. "Yes (as if I had said I did not believe him) if I stay I can look out for her, but this place is no good, and if I stay I will be sorcerized", War said. "What are you going to give me when you go--some money?" I told him yes and he added, "I guess I'll give it to War and then no one else can get her. She's a good girl. Oh! War. " Then I said something which he misconstrued as a suggestion to go to War's house and sleep with Aye. War exclaimed, "No, no; if I went there, War would shoot me with a spear. (Pause). I think I'll take your fffle and shoot War. Yes!" (As though I doubted it).

*115 Before leaving, War warned me not to sleep at night unless I have my rifle by my side as there were some strangers walking around today with spears. He told me to sleep, and he would leave, but I still had work to do so he decided to finish his pipe and then go. War started at a noise outside and in a loud voice he asked, "What is that, a ghost ? Who is that walking

301 to the comb by pulling the quill down through a hole in the wood, and up
237 through another. The bird of paradise plume is worn instead only if the
[703] wearer has taken a head. The comb is worn standing upright in the middle of the head.

[192] manŋwi miniŋ-- ornamental comb
[581]



front view

side view

301 Arm bands are decorated in various manners. Each has a wicker
285 base, (fikŋ) , made in the fashion of a turk's head knot. Fine stitches
[192] are made from palm spathes. Coarse stitches are made from split liana cord.

[237] A white (clam) shell ring (fuliŋ) is fastened to the arm band. It is sewed
[192] to the wicker work of the band with two or three strands of thread. The rings vary in size from about one to two and a half inches.

302 Black paint on the face and forehead is worn only by homicides, but not
703 worn regularly.